

THE  
Prospective Glasse of  
WARRE.

Shewving you a glimpse of VVarres  
Mystery, in her admirable Stratagems, Policies,  
*Wayes ; in Victualling of an ARMIE, providing*  
Money to pay Souldiers, finding out the Enemies  
Purposes, Traps, and Stratagems: Ordering of Marches,  
Framing of Battails, sundry Fights, Retreats, and the  
like, to auoide Battell or Fight.

Furnished with Argument to encourage, and  
Skill to Instruct. By C.E. *Edward Cooke*

*Warre is a Schoole of necessary Knowledge.*



L O N D O N :

Printed for *Michael Sparke*, dwelling at the signe of the blue  
Bible in *Greene-Arbor*. 1628.

# BEARLY

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TO THE  
HONORABLE

Sir IOHN COOKE Knight,  
Principall Secretarie of State  
to his *Maestie.*

SIR,



S shape beautifies an  
Image, so good acti-  
ons commend a man.  
That which did com-  
mend *Lucullus* most,  
was this, \* Hee would ra-

\* Plutarch in  
the life of Lu-  
cullus.

ther deliuer a Roman Ci-  
tizen from the hands of his enemy, then win all  
that his enemies had in their power. *Lucullus*  
in this did conquer himselfe; as *Alexander*  
did in containing from *Darius* his most  
faire wife and daughters; and *Cæsar*, in spar-

## *The Epistle*

ring to punish his greatest enemies. To whom *Cicero* said, that in other Victories, Fortune, Policy, & Souldiers, might claime a part, but in this, he alone should haue all the glorie.

\* *August. de*  
*Ciuit. di. li. 5.*  
*cap. 3.*

*Glorie*, *Thirst of prey*, and *loue of Country*, were the three things that set all the *Romans* vpon admirable action. The first is counted but a \* *Vice*; the second, no better then *Theft*; the third, is the *Vertue Heroicall*. In this *Vertue* *Cicero* excelled the other three, and therefore was honoured with this Epitaph, *Pater Patrie*.

He was called Father of his Country, because he kept it from decay.

All those that in their *Consultations* doe seeke the benefit of their Country, doe deserue the like like reward and praise. You then Sir, are to be praised and honoured of all men, whose *Consultations* tend to the benefit of the whole Kingdome: hauing obtained a Conquest of your selfe (being a Christian) far above that of *Lucullus* and *Cæsars*. Therefore you shall attaine a most sure triumph, the guide of whose Chariot shall be *Grace*  
giuen

giuen from aboue, and *Glory*, that shall neuer faile you.

It is reported of *Roscins* (the Tragedian) that men durst not aduenture to Act in a Tragedie in his sight, because of his excellencie in that facultie. And shall I dare to discourse of Warre (or any other subiect) before so great a *Statesman*, so learned, exquesite a Mathematician as your selfe? Behold I were blanckt, and should stand as *Queene Hester* did (*dead in all mens opinion*;) did not your *Septer of benignitie* giue me life, and tell me that you are a *Fauoror of Arts and Armes*.

Therefore I take courage, and prostrate this my poore labor to kisse your Honorable hands, not as any addition to your vncontroleable and approued knowledge, but as a weake Fabrick, which onely wanteth the support of your much admired goodnesse. Pleaseth it you therefore to accept my Booke, to peruse and allow of the same, that it may the more safely come abroad, and thereby deserue the better fauour and acceptance of all the Readers

thereof: as allowed of him, whose Noble  
acts as well within the Realme, as without,  
haue alwayes from time to time, so well  
appeared. So I shall be the more boldned,  
and encouraged to take the like paines  
hereafter, if good and meett occasion, may  
serue there vnto.

*Euer vowed to you (Honourable*

*Sir) in all dutifull seruice,*

**Edward Cooke.**



## The Preface to the Reader.

Iudicious Reader :

**I***T is not the least, but the greatest kinde of folly, when a man hauing but a little science, presumeth to teach not onely those which haue onely science, but such as haue most certaine experience. For mine owne part (among many) I am most free from this guilt: though for the good of many I haue published this Treatise which will make me thereby seeme guiltie. Yet I confesse the Booke or Treatise is a collection of such notes as haue bin by me selected out of the best Tacticke writers both Ancient and Moderne. All which I haue illustrated with examples, and precepts, the better to instruct all yong Commanders; who by reading them may get much knowledge. But it may be these braue spirits are minded to get knowledge by experience, and not so ioyne experience vnto knowledge: therefore they affect the bloody fields of Africke better then the beautifull Schooles in Greece. Well, let them doe so; but in my opinion it seemes a farre better and shorter way (for them) to attaine to the name of worthy perfect Capitaines, so ioyne experience vnto knowledge, then to get knowledge by experience. For Mans life is short and subiect to many casualties, oftentimes it is cut off before it can come to any such perfection as is required in an excellent man of war; whereas small experience with diligent reading, and perfect learning of feats of warre may frame and make many politicke Capitaines in a small time.*

*I doe not meane that knowledge without experience can doe any great thing at all; but being ioyned both together, doubtlesse they may be as able to bring to passe as great and*

## To the Reader.

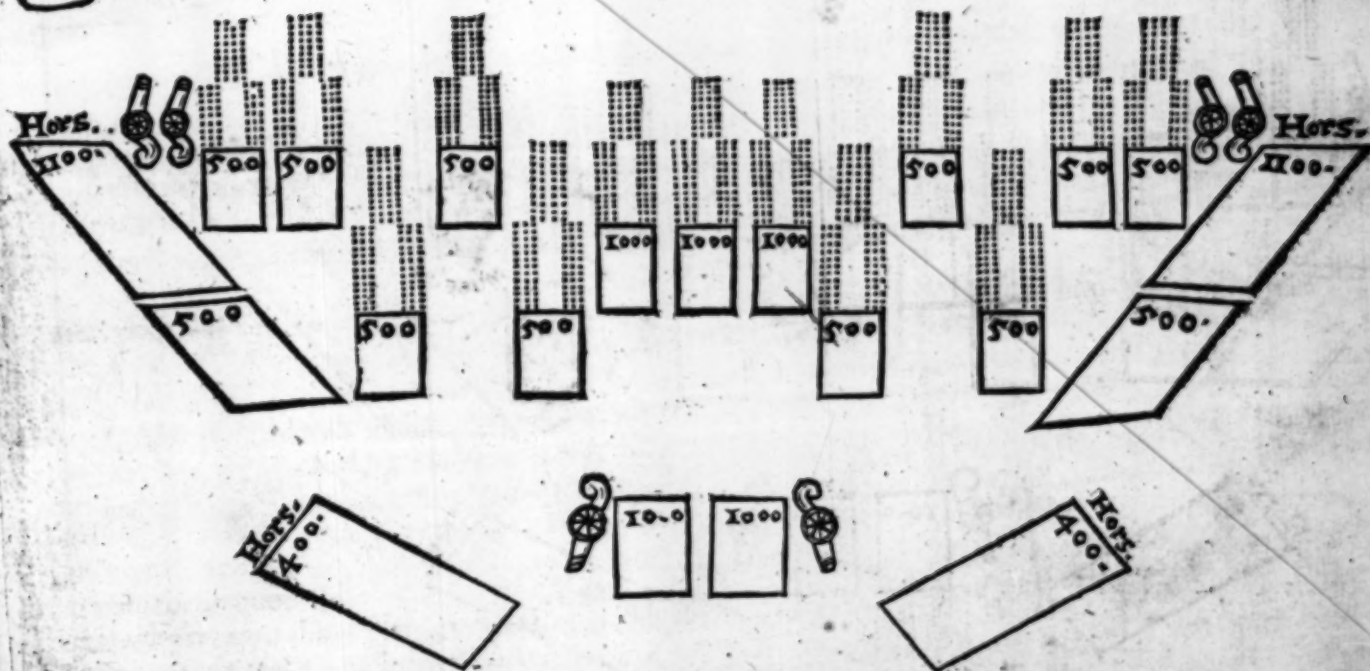
*As merueilous things in valiant men in these our dayes, as they haue done to others before our time : To which not on- ly experience alone brought them, but diligent learning and study of the Art of warre, written and set forth by Histori- call writers and Poets. Innumerable are the Bookes which this age doth afford of the like subiect for their direction : the number of which I haue augmented by two ; namely, The Character of Warre, and The Prospectiue Glasse of Warre. The Character of Warre, doth instruct them in the use of the Postures, in the use of Facing, Wheeling, Countermarching, Doubling, Distances, and the like. And how to Command a Company.*

*The prospectiue Glasse of Warre doth instruct them how to Victuall an Army, how to provide money to pay Sou- diers, how to finde out the enemies purposes, Traps, and Stratagems ; how to direct an Army to march either by day or by night ; how to Embattell ; how to behaue themselves in battell, when to fight, when to auoide fight, with many o- ther excellent things worthy of their knowledge. Then let them read, and reading they will learne to iudge aright of the Author ; who puts a difference betweene the state of Phi- losophers, and the state of Captaines ; betweene the skill to read in Schooles, and the knowledge to rule an Army ; be- tween the science that wise men haue in Books, and the expe- rience that others haue in war ; betweene the skill to write with the pen, and others to write with the sword ; betweene one that for his pastime is set round with deskcs of Bookes, and another in perill of life, encompassed with troopes of e- nemies. Therefore presumes not to teach any such graue ex- periencced Souldiers ; onely records what they haue done, or can doe ; which he recounts to others to imitate, who it may be haue neither scene nor read them. Spare not then to iudge and censure him who will euer remaine thine.*

FIG.

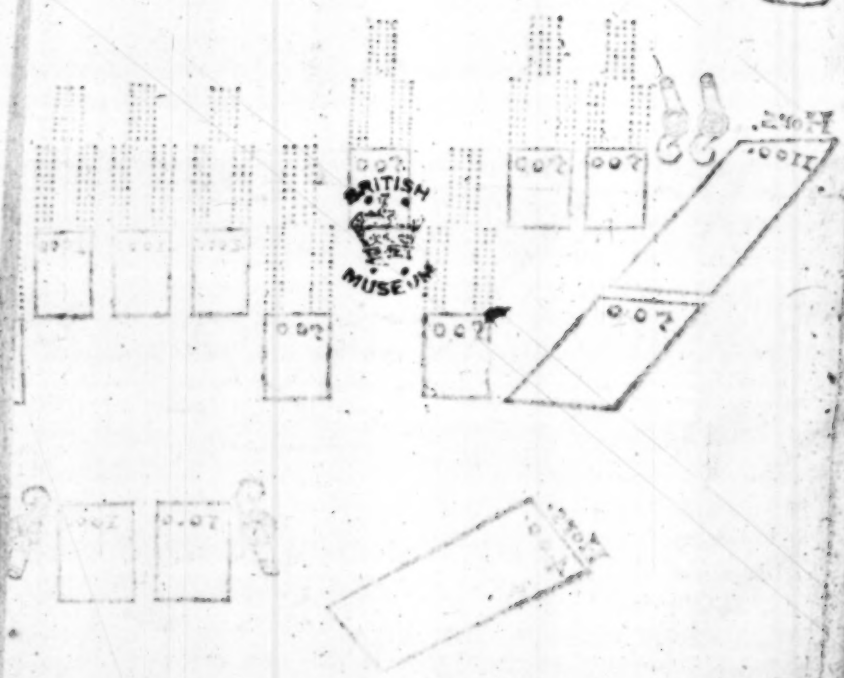
FIG.

A Battell both with Seconds, and Ayds for  
all attempts; containing 12000. Foote, and 4000.  
Horse, with Ordnance on the Hills, Reare & Flanks.



HIV.

A Barrel both with 2 stones  
all weights, containing 1 stone.  
Hole with Ordonance on the H.





# THE PROSPECTIVE Glasse of WARRE.

## CHAP. I.

*After what manner a Commander or Generall  
should best provide Victuals and Monie to con-  
tent his Souldiers, & how to finde out the pur-  
poses, Trapps, and Stratagems of his Enemy.*

**V**ictuals is the Soule of an Army:  
Money, but the Sinewes: with-  
out the first your Army cannot  
at all subsist; without the se-  
cond, but indifferently: but with  
both, admirable well. That  
your Army may have both  
Soule and Sinewes, thereby to subsist long and well,  
provide for it good store of victuals and money:  
Likewise pry into the wiles and stratagems of the  
Enemy in time, that it may go well with your Army.  
Which that you may well do, these precepts follow-  
ing will direct you aright. But first of Victuals,

B

Victuals

Viſuals conſiſt firſt in conuenient prouiſion of them, then in ſafe keeping and preſeruing of them, then in good diſtributing, or ſpending, or beſtowing of them alwayes.

Precepts for  
prouiſion of  
viſuals.

All which you muſt carefully execute if you would not willingly taſte of want.

1. Prouide for viſuals before you vndertake the warre, for then is the time of beſt prouiſion.

2. In your warre begun, ſtore your ſelfe with viſuals, either neere hand, or farre off. And conduct it with good and ſtrong conuoyes, leſt the Enemy ſurpriſe it.

3. In your Townes of warre, either without or within, haue great ſtore of Milles to grinde corne to ſuſtaine you the better in a ſiege: And bee ſure to looke well vnto them, & ſufficiently to defend them, eſpecially thoſe that are without the Towne.

4. If you beſiege Townes or Cities, you ought to hurle downe all Milles within and without, and to cut of the water from them, if you cannot keepe them for your owne uſe.

5. Prouide that ſuch neighbours as dwell neere vnto you, may ſafely bring viſuals into your Campe without danger of the Enemy.

6. In caſe of neceſſity ſend your Souldiers into their Prouince to abide & be relieved with viſuals for a time. Example,

*Galli being in ſome diſtreſſe of viſuals, chooſe the Citie Attella, a Citie full of viſuals, to ſtay there vntill by their friends they might bee relieved, both with viſuals and Souldiers. In which Citie their Souldiers for a while were largely relieved and freely, with or at the charges of the Cittizens.*

7. Seeke

7. Seeke by all meanes to intercept your Enemies victuals; and lay seidge to those places from whence their chiefe reliefe of victuals doth come. Example,

The Captaines of *Charles* the fift, in the warres against the *Germans*, lacked victuals somewhat, where on the other side, the *Germans* lying in a plaine fertill Country, had plenty of victuals, vpon the occasion of the abundance of the Country, being large, and partly because certaine friendly Cities and Countries lay behinde them on the other side of the River. For the same purpose *Charles* the Emperour went about for to gaine the Cities standing about the River from them, and so the advantage of the same River with victuals: which was a braue act.

Like this was that of *Francis Sforza*, who vnderstanding that the *Frenchmen*, or Army at *Novaro*, had great comfort of victuals from *Biagrasa*, he besieged that Towne suddenly, & tooke it: by which occasion hee tooke from them their chiefe victuals: And shortly after the *French* Army was faine to remove.

8. If you are for to iourney towards the warres, iourney in a plentiful Country, and which hath in long time beene in peace. Thus did the *French King Charles* the eight when he came to the Citie of *Ast*.

9. Also you are to iourney in your Confederates Country, and who vpon very great occasion is to desire your society, for such will ayde you liberally. This was likewise practised by *Charles* the eight when he inuaded *Naples*: For other wayes of getting of victuals, and preserving them so got, peruse these presedents.

10. Some Kings, Captaines, and Generals, which haue either taken, or saued some Citie which was

likely to be lost, haue caused their Souldiers to be re-  
lieued of victuals in the same; in the houses of them  
which were their Enemies.

11. Some haue vsed for to send certaine Captaines  
of Souldiers into other Cities, for to ease the present  
spending in the place where they were.

12. Some haue vsed to send all the poore and im-  
potent people out of their Citie so bescidged, that  
their victuals might last the longer.

13. Some would suffer none either to returne or  
to haue reliefe of victuals: Which vnreasonable hard  
vsage needed not, if Gouvernors would before hand,  
and before need, prepare both for abundance of vi-  
ctuals, or else withall take order for the moderate  
spending of their victuals: For negligence of prouisi-  
on of victuals in time, and mispending, or else lacke  
of good keeping or ordering them which you haue,  
should be well scene vnto. I pretermitt this. And I  
fall vpon the prouision of money for the payment of  
your Souldiers wages.

Precepts for  
the payment  
of Souldiers  
wages.

Hauiing money sufficient, it is best to pay your  
Souldiers beforehand, or monthly.

1. If you be bare of money, pay some wages, and  
procure that the Souldiers may haue victuals good  
cheape all the while you lacke money, or. employ  
them where continuall spoyle may be had:

2. If you haue little money, pay a part of that o-  
penly in the hands of such souldiers as are most like-  
ly to make a Mutiny.

3. Some Generals when as their souldiers haue  
beene ready to reuolt or mutiny for lacke of pay,  
haue straight way brought them to the battell, for  
this purpose; if victory happened on their side, they  
would

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would pay their souldiers of the spoyle of their Enemies, or else if their Army were ouerthrowne, then they should be cleerely and well discharged of the grieuous and dangerous complaint.

4. Some haue caused the Cittizens of Cities to receiue souldiers into their houses for to giue vnto them meate, drinke, and lodging, and to giue wages vnto the same souldiers. Thus did *Anthony de Lina* at *Millan*.

This was he that forbad all his Cittizens for to eate any bread but onely such as should bee bought of him: For which purpose he appointed in euery streete certaine houses where bread should be sold, at what price he lusted, and none durst do the contrary. By which kinde of means he got into his hands all such kinde of money as any Citizen of *Millan* had in his Chests, or else could make or reserue by any meanes or wayes; with which he payd his souldiers. This was his way, but some haue found other wayes besides these.

5. Some Generals haue gaged all their plate and Jewels vnto rich monyed men, to pay their souldiers. Wayes to get money to pay Souldiers,

6. Some Kings haue borrowed all the Jewels and ornaments of certaine great Ladies or Estates, which were their friends and kinsmen, and haue pawned the same to Vsurers for to pay their souldiers. Charles the 8. of France,

7. Borrow largely of your Confederates money, who seeketh your society in his warres: for his speciall purpose: The *French King Charles the 8.* could do this passing well.

8. Seeke of such a Confederate any other ayde or furniture for your warres, which furniture can

stay your laying out of much expence.

9. Seeme (to such a Confederate) to deferre your warres that you may the better wring forth of him greater summes. It may bee he may profite like *Lodowicke Sforza Duke of Millan*.

This Duke, seeing *Charles* the eight make no haste to invade *Naples* according vnto promise, because *Lodowicke* was to worke a feare by *Charles* his comming, which otherwise hee was very hardly to do; he sent his sonne in Law with a braue Captaine into *France* vnto the King, offering him money, shippes, horsemen, and many other things of great importance, which the King accepted, and for that cause before did stay the warre. Thus much of this, which shall suffice for the wayes of getting of money to pay souldiers, and likewise for victualling your Army. I will now shew the wayes by which you may finde out your Enemies purposes, Trapps, and Stratagems. To doe which, well obserue these precepts.

Waies to finde  
out the Ene-  
mies purposes  
Trapps, and  
Stratagems.

1. First, you are to suspect vehemently, or else to feare, how your Enemy hath an invention by some subtiltie or politike stratagem, or inuention, or else some crafty deceite or wile to entrap, beguile, or ouerthrow your Army.

2. Next for such intents or purposes, you should entertaine very good and sundry espialls, who by all meanes are to be very attentiuē, inquisitiue, curious, liberall, suspitious, and bold.

3. Which especially should remaine or abide neer the Court of your Enemy, or else neere vnto the Army of your Enemies, or in some friends Country of your Enemies, or neere some neighbour of your Enemies,

Enemies, or in the way of your Enemies, or else a Common Travellor, or else a Student in the Land of the Enemies, or a subject of reputation in the Land of your Enemies, or else a Merchant or common seller of wares, or a Barber, or a Victualler in your Enemies Country.

5 Which kinde of espials, you are neuer to trust throughly, but euer to bee icalous of them, and to weigh and conferre their reports with the reports of other espials, and with likely-hoods, oppertunities, and realons.

Haue espials continually, if it be possible, in your Enemies Army.

*The Langraue, with other Captaines of the Germans, (against the Emperour Charles the first by name) had in Charles his Army 200. good Espials, whereby he almost euery houre had certaine knowledge what was done or said in Charles his Campe or Tents.*

Charles the first Emperour lacked good Espials, for which cause he left many things yndone, which had beene for his singular profit, if hee had knowne of such occasions.

Therefore provide you good Espials; which Espials are so necessary in the wars as any thing else: for by them you shall vnderstand how your Enemie will fight, what hee will doe against your Army, Marching, Fighting, or Flying. Which motions, (or rather principall heads of the Art of warre) shall be handled in the foure next Chapters following.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

*How a Commander or Generall should order his March, both by day and night for the saftie of his Army : How passe Woodes, Hills, and Riuers, beset or not beset with Enemies. With many other necessary circumstances appertaining to Marches.*



Am now to enter by degrees vpon these foure principall heads of the Art of warre: namely, Marching, Embattelling, Fighting, and Flying from an Enemy. All which I will deliuer with as good method, plainnesse, and breuitie as I can. I am to begin with Marching; wherein I pray obserue my method and order; which shall be, first by precept to prescribe it; Then by Example to approue it; Example being the life of precept. I begin.

Precepts for  
Marching.

1. In Marching you must be very mistrustfull of your Enemy, lest he entrap you with Ambushes.
2. You must therefore appoint some to march before to discover suspected places, as Woodes, Mountaines, Forrests, Rockes, Banckes of Riuers, Caues, Hills, hollow and deepe wayes. The most of which are rough and intricate, and scarce passable for the heauy Armed and horse.
3. The fittest for this seruice are your Musket-teers;

teers: I, and your Dragons to ioyne with them, for they may alight from their Horses and serue on foot.

4. You must march sometimes in one forme, sometimes in another, according to the place and occasion offered. Example.

Alexander at the Riuer *Granicus* marched with his horse foremost to passe the Riuer, and to assaile the *Persians*, who had opposed their Horse against him on the banks.

5. Marching through the streights to fight the battaile of *Issus*, he marched with his Horse behinde his Foot, because he was vncertaine how neere the Enemy lay, and was loath to put them to hazzard before they had libertie of ground to order themselves, and might haue assistance of the Foot. At the Riuer of *Issus* hee did the like; for having past the Riuer, hee marched through a Corne field, and therefore so marshalled them for feare of an Ambush. Otherwise it was his custome in marching (as it is the manner also at this day) to dispose his Horse halfe behinde, and halfe before: the Carriage in the midst, or otherwise.

But how to March properly both by day and by night, with your Carriage truely placed, and euery thing rightly ordered, is a point worthy to be taken notice of: Briefely thus.

Being to March in the day, obserue the manner of March now in vse.

7. Let some Dragons and Musketeers march before to repress the Enemies intursions, and to search Woods and Forrests for Ambushes, and to surpris straight Wayes, Bridges and Foords. Send after them your Pyoners to mend the wayes, to cut the woods that are in the way, least by bad way the Army be tired.

C

8. Let

8. Let the Foot of the Vantguard (or right wing) follow, euery battalion thereof in order, hauing halfe the horse of the Army before them, and all their baggage and Carriage behinde them.

9. After let the battalions of the battell follow with all their baggage and carriage in the Reare, as the former. Let the battalions of the Rereward (or left wing) follow, with all their baggage or carriage behinde them. Let euery one of the battalions haue their shoot before and behinde. And let the remainder of your Horse bring vp the Reare. As for your Ordnance, distribute that (as your Carriage) both behinde the Vantguard, the battell, and the Rereward; the better to serue against all attempts.

10. At night, quarter the Battalions of the Vantguard all in one place; those of the Battell all in another; and those of the Rereward all by themselves, but not too farre a sunder for feare of danger.

11. In the morning bring to dislodge: First shoot off one peece of Ordnance, a little after that another, and so a third in his time. Shooting the first, the Army takes notice you will dislodge; therefore they trusse vp their baggage and load it. Shooting the second, they take vp their Armes and fall into ranke: shooting the third, they set forward to march. Thus *Graue Marrice* did dislodge his Souldiers. *Vespasian* did it by the sound of a Trumpet (as *Iosephus* doth report) in the third Booke of his Antiquities, Chap. 3.

12. Being to march in the night obserue the *Grace* in order.

Send your baggage and carriage before with a sufficient guard. Then follow, first with your Pikemen, then with your light Armed (being Musketeers;) next with

with all your Horse in the reare; the better by breake of day to come all together into one place, as ought to be. This way your Army in the night is easily kept together, and is soonest espied if it breake.

13. Being to invade an Enemies Countrie, march with your Carriage in the Reare. When you doe dis- march from an Enemies Countrie, let your Carriage be in the Front, vnlesse great store of Enemies be sus- pected to intercept it; then you must place it in the midst.

14. Now in fight you may dispose of it fve manner of wayes; either before the Army, or behinde, or on the one flanke, or on the other, or in the midst. Before the Army, when you feare to be charged behinde: be- hind the Army, when you lead towards the Enemy: when you feare to be charged in Flanke, on the contra- ry side: in the midst, when a hollow battell is needfull and fit. This last was practised by S<sup>t</sup> *Horatio Vere* in the *Pallatine*, and by the *Grecians* (as *Zenophon* doth re- cord in his third booke of the Ascent of *Cyrus*).

15. Being to march through a wood obserue *Zeno- phons* counsell. Let your Foot and Horse in order single themselves as the way falls out, and you shall make your passage the more secure and easie: *Zenophon* did thus, as you may read in his first booke of the Ascent of *Cyrus*.

16. It were not amiss to haue some Musketeers to march on the sides of the Wood, to secure the rest within.

17. If your Enemy be in a Wood, Fenne, Hill, Fort, Towne, or other place of strength, that admitteth no accesse, send your Musketeers to shew themselves, and with a brauado to toulc him out of his aduantage, and bring him into the field, where he may the more easily

How to trouble  
an enemy out  
of a wood.

be dealt withall : with these Musketeers send some Horse to set vpon him, if he dare to venture forth. Example.

*Alexander* leading his Army against the Tribals that had hid themselves in a wood, commanded his Archers and slingers to run out and shoot, and sling among the *Barbarians*, to see if he could coule them into the plaine. The Archers and slingers spared not to let flye; and the Tribals being wounded with arrows, threw themselves out of the wood with all speed, to fall vpon the vnarmed Archers. Then *Alexander* with his Horse presently charged them, and being ouerborne by the Horse they fled through the Wood to the River.

18. *Alexander* whensoever he was to vse expedition, marched away with the Horse and light armed, leauing the Armed to come after. The Armed are for a firme and stedfast fight, not for Concurfions.

19. Being then for some farre, yet sodaine attempt, leaue your Pikemen behinde, and march away with your Horse and Musketeers: for when celeritie is requisite, who so fit to be imployed, as they who haue nothing to hinder their speed.

20. Being to march against an Enemy in his owne Countrie; giue the word to come to such a *Province*, but Inuade another: by this you shall deceiue your Enemy.

*Agésilas* to deceiue *Tisaphernes*, made countenance as though he would first inuade *Caria*; whereupon *Tisaphernes* gathered all his power together; but *Agésilas* on a sodaine returned backe againe, and entred into *Phrygia*, tooke there many Cities, and won great spoile.

21. Many Generals besides *Agésilas* haue done the like, then be not you carelesse of it; for by such a plot the Enemy some other time may perchance be drawne

to

*Plutarch* in  
the life of *Agésilas*.  
Example.

Agésilas well  
and wisely  
boon a to

to deceiue himselfe. Example.

*Agésilau* vpon another time gaue out that he would enter *Lydia*, not meaning to deceiue *Tisaphernes* againe, but *Tisaphernes* deceiued himselfe, and thought he would haue inuaded *Caria*, a woodie Countrey very ill for horsemen, in which he was the weaker: but *Agésilau* tooke the champion Countrey of *Lydia*, contrary to his expectation, so that *Tisaphernes* was inforced to come with all the speed that might be to the rescue thereof; therefore leauing all his Foot behinde him, he came stealing vpon them with his Horse: *Agésilau* vnderstanding by his men that *Tisaphernes* was come (and had made some slaughter of such as were found stragling abroad out of order) imagined with himselfe that the footmen of his Enemies could not yet be arriued, therefore with all speed he thrust in among the horsemen (which he had) his light armed footmen, and commanded them straight to charge the Enemy, whilst he caused the heavy armed men to follow at their heeles, as they did: but *Tisaphernes* men fled vpon it immediately, and *Agésilau* men lustily followed the chase, tooke his Campe, and made a great slaughter of them that fled.

22. Being in an Enemies Countrie, march in battell array, and let your Pyoners worke the harder, for a long march here is dangerous. Send Horse and Musketeers a good way before, to search the hills, and to surprise them from the Enemy.

23. In marching betweene Mountaines and Hills, see that your Vantgard succour your Rereward, your Rereward the Vantgard, if your Enemies goe about to intercept or molest you marching.

*Zenophon* and *Cherisophus* did thus against the *Carduchians*: Obserue the manner.

The *Carduchans* by fighting took the streights which lay in their way, and indeauoured to hinder and shut vp their march: but when they opposed against the Vant, *Zenophon* from the Reate ascending the Mountaines, and gaining the vpper ground, remoued all the impediments the Enemy could cast vpon the way: when against the Reate, *Cherisophus* ascending vp took the vpper ground likewise, and freed the way from them that came behinde. So they alwayes succoured, and had mutuall care one of another.

How to passe  
Riuers.

24. Lighting in your March vpon deepe and impassible Riuers, and hauing no Boats (to make Bridges) to wasse you ouer; marching further to the heads of the Riuers, you may goe ouer without wetting your knees: *Zenophon* in the third Booke of the Ascent of *Cyrus*.

25. Being come to some passable Riuier, where the currant runnes exceeding strong; cause your Horse to breake the waters, and then let your Foot march ouer, but sheltered on each side with the Horse.

26. If the currant be ouer bigge, so that you cannot waide ouer; cut the same Riuier in diuers places, and turne it into the landward with other currants, and you may passe ouer with ease.

27. Being to passe a great Riuier where the Enemy on the banks stands to intercept your passage; to withdraw him from thence (and to deceiue him) seeme to leaue the attempt, and march away; then hauing left some behinde you to make a Bridge (vnknowne to the Enemy) returne when you see your time, and passe your men ouer with ease. Example.

*Cesar* hauing his Army on a banke of a Riuier in France and his passage being let of *Vergintorix* a Frenchman, the

the which on the other side of the River, had his men, marched many daies along the River, and the like did the Enemy: wherefore *Cesar* encamping in a woodie place, apt to hide men, he tooke out of euery Legion 3. Cohorts, and made them to tarry in the same place, commanding them that so soone as hee was departed, they should cast ouer a bridge, and fortifie it, & hee and his other men followed on the way: Wherefore *Ver-gintorix* seeing the number of the Legions, thinking that there was not left any part of them bebinde, followed also his way: But *Cesar* when hee supposed the bridge was made, turned backward, & finding all things in order, passed the River without difficultie.

In marching, to auoyd contention about place, let euery Nation haue his honour of place: That which had the Vantgard this day, must haue the Reareward the next day: and so of all the rest by turnes. Thus much for Marching.

### CHAP. III.

*How a Commander or Generall, should order his Battells, and how behaue himselfe in the time of Fight, and after the Battell lost.*

**T**he substance of the Art Military doth consist in this: How to order your Battell, and how to behaue your selfe in the time of Fight, and after the Battell lost: To do which, observe these particular precepts, and you will be enabled to doe accordingly. I begin with

Precepts for  
the ordering  
of your Bat-  
tels,

with the ordering of your battels.

1. You are to chuse your place both for Raising of your battels before fight, and in the fight of the battell; that the same place be able to containe your whole Army without disturbance.

2. Next in ordering your battels, you must consider what dangers are likely, or else may happen by casualtie or fortune, and to provide for remedies by your order beforehand.

3. Likewise you are to consider, that you ought not to order your battels in all cases and respects alike, but very diuersly as your case shall require. For you are to order your battels according, partly vnto the nature of the ground, partly vnto the quantity, quality, or regard of your Enemies Army, and partly vnto such respect as is fittest against such orders or battels of your Enemies best knowne to your selfe for your best advantage.

4. You are to order your Army into convenient parts, and to appoint euery one his place, number, and action.

5. You are to order your battels, that no part of your Army be any disturbance to any part of your battels.

6. You are to chuse your place, and to order your Army so, that your Enemies cannot compass you either with their horsemen, or with their shoof, great or small, or otherwise to your hurt.

7. You are with discretion to learne and know the equality and inequality of the number of your Enemies Army with your owne Army. For you can neuer most aptly order your Army in just battels, for to be ordered according to discipline of warre, before you know and consider thoroughly, the nature, force, and weaknesse of either of your Armies.

8. Also

8. Also you are to consider, how you may take any advantage vpon any orders, prouisions, or actions; of your Enemies present order, weakenesse, or strength.

9. Consider also what kindes of advantages the times of the yeare or the day affordeth, which can bee had by your Enemies or your selfe, or else of the Ayre, or else of Tempests past or present.

10. Further consider which things first are possible or may be; then which are likely; next which are apparant before your eyes easie to bee knowne or to bee provided for.

11. Which well knowne and considered, you are then to order your battels, to take your ground, for to plant your ordnance, to auoyd your dangers, to take your advantages, for to worke your stratagemes also for your most comfort, and so to fight accordingly. But how to order your battels, and so to fight accordingly, is to bee discuffed of more largely; for therein is the chiefe substance of the Art Military, in which some Generals haue beene more expert then others.

Excellent Generals (of old) commonly did vse to ordaine of footmen apt for to fight, three great battels; a *Vantgard*, a *Battell*, and a *Rearward*; and two wings of their horsemen: And when they came to fight, they did set them for the most part in an even front: The *Battell* in the midst; on the right hand the *Vantgard*, which was called the right winge; on the left the *Rearward*, which was called the left winge. Their order we doe in a manner follow: For wee haue *Vantgard*, *Battell*, and *Rearward*, which wee place in Front as they did; onely we differ in the kinde of Embattailing. By kinde of Embattailing, I meane not bills, & bowes, but grosse Bodies: For they parted their Army into three parts,

and Embattailed them into three grosse Bodies. Wee divide our Army into three parts, but not into such grosse Bodies; as for example, Say wee have 12000. Foot, and 4000. Horse; if we bring them into one front without seconds, we do thus.

In our Vantgard, or right winge, we put 3000. men, diuiding them into three battalions, sometimes into more, as we see occasion. In our Battell wee put 6000. men diuiding them into three battalions, euery one containing 2000. a piece, for the battalions in the Battell, must exceede those in the wings.

In our Reareward or left winge, we put 3000. men, diuiding them into as many battalions, with as many men in either of them, as was to bee in the Vantgard aboue mentioned. Our horse we place halfe in the right winge, and halfe in the left winge, the ordinary place for horse. For prooffe of this, looke into the ordinary practise of the *Netherlands*, and you shall see them sometimes to put two Regiments into one battalion, sometimes but one, and sometimes they will make two battalions of one Regiment. Wee as they are not tyed to any certaine number, but may vary as we see occasions.

Occasions are produced by the Enemy, by the ground, by our selues to our best aduantage, and therefore we do accordingly. If our number bee more, wee haue the more battalions; if lesse, the fewer, vnlesse some pollicie be vsed.

Some Generals haue Martialed their Army onely into one Battell, some into two, some into three, some into foure, some into foue, some into six, and some into nine.

The *Venetians* at the battell of *Taro*, did martiall their Army into nine battalions; whereof three was to fight.

fight with the Enemy, other three to bee aide to the other three fighting, and the other three was appointed for sundry other purposes and effects.

King *Ferdinand*, besides his ordinary battalions, had another standing aloofe behinde his other battailes, for to take aduantage, or else to helpe in necessitie as occasion serued; which were light horsemen.

The Earle of *Sorby*, at the battell of *Sladdon*, had likewise besides his ordinary Battels, one battell of light horsemen, with which hee discomfitted *James* (the fourth) King of *Scots*.

*James* King of *Scots*, at the same battell of *Sladdon*, did martiall his Army into six battailes, without horse reliefe, or seconds, which lost him the field. For the *English* with their horse (when the King had the better) would presently giue vpon his Flanks, so snatcht the victory out of his hands, hauing neither Horse nor seconds to recover it.

The *Argonians*, haue diuided their Army into five Battels; which battels in forme of straight or direct hornes, were extended from the great battell or middleward. But these were partly Horse and Foote.

The *Heluetians*, haue martialled their Army into three battels, without Horse or seconds, sometimes into one battell onely of footmen, which was their vsuall forme by custome. But not so be imitated.

The *Spaniard*, haue martialled their Army into two battels; one of footmen in one winge, and another of horsemen in another winge, all in an euen Front. Now they do otherwise.

The Ancient *Romans*, haue martialled their Armed foote into three Battels. The first consisting of the *Hastati*, the second of the *Principes*, the third of the

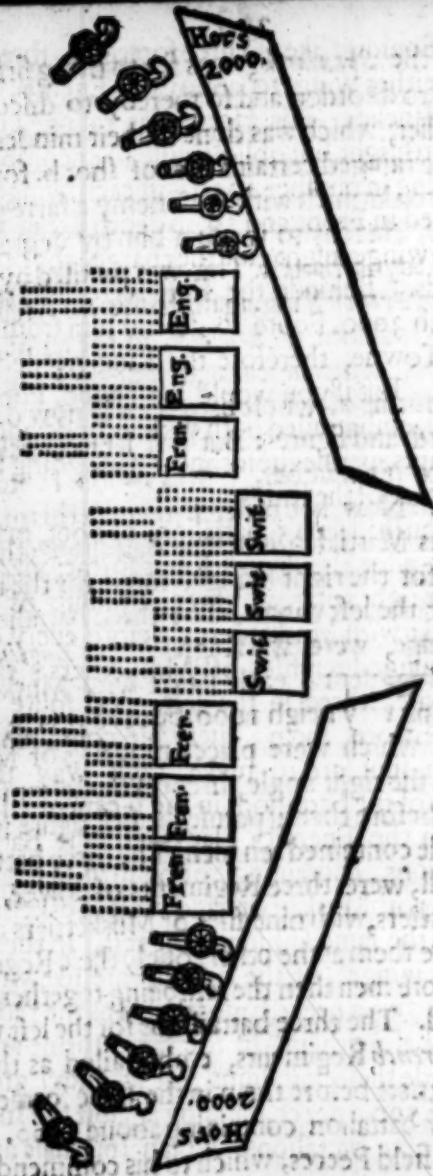
*Triary*: with *Velites* to either of them, and Horse in the wings. How their *Velites* (light Armed men) were placed, being too weake to deale with Horsemen, or armed Foore (without advantage) I will shew you hereafter.

Some haue ordered a weake battell of Foot or horsemen, against a strong battell of their Enemies Foore or Horsemen, thereby to bring their Enemies strength in to some stratagem, which was wisely done by the great Captaine *Gonsaluo*, against the *Frenchmen*. This *Gonsaluo* sent a noble *Spaniard* called *Mondotius*, against the Generall of the *Frenchmen* to fight with his Reareward; which *Mondotius*, had a company of light horsemen for to inuade the Reare of the *Frenchmen*, and with him likewise went two Cohorts of Calliuer-shot, which kept company in the front almost with them, being extended as in two spread wings. *Mondotius* horse left these shot, and inuaded freshly the hindermost of the *French*. The *French* barbed horsemen, with fury set vpon *Mondotius* light horsemen: *Mondotius* light horsemen retired as though they were not able to encounter the barbed Horsemen: thus flying, caused the barbed horsemen to persue out of order. Then the Calliuer-shot keeping aloofe off (about a furlong) and in forme of a halfe Moone, shot of vpon the *French* barbed horsemen, before & on the Flanks. *Gonsaluo* thereupon sent a company of his barbed horsemen to the aide of his light horsemen flying, & his Calliues fighting: Thereupon his light horsemen returned, and ioynd with their owne barbed horsemen that came for aide, and both of them in order, did set vpon the *Frenchmen* out of order, the shot continuing on both sides and backes as before. Which kinde of order (you see) and flying,  
and

and ayde of the *Spaniards*, was for to bring first such *French* force to disorder, and so thereby to discomfort them the easlier, which was done to their mindes.

Some haue rainged certaine files of shot before euery battalion, to skirmish with the Enemy a farre off, and neere at hand, thereby to weaken him by degrees, before they did ioyne battell. This was practised by *Henry* the fourth the *French* King, against *Alberson* Arch Duke of *Austria*, *Gouernor* of *Brabant*, in the name of the King of *Spaine*, when he came to raise the sidge at *A-mens*. The forme of whose battell I will now describe both by word and figure: But first let me declare his number. For his number, it was 12000. foote, and 4000. Horse. Now hee ordered them in this manner: His foote was Martialed into nine Battalions; three of which were for the right winge, three for the battell, and three for the left winge. The three battalions on the right winge, were two Regiments of *English*, and one *French* Regiment; each flankt with Muskettiers, and containing very neigh 1000. Foote a peece; before euery one of which were placed nine files of Muskettiers; three in the right angle, three on the left, and three in the midst before them: (peruse the first figure following,) euery file contained ten men. The three battalions for the Battell, were three Regiments of *Swiss*, flankt with Muskettiers, with nine files of Muskettiers a peece placed before them as the other, onely these Regiments contained more men then the rest, being together about fise thousand. The three battalions for the left winge, were three *French* Regiments, embattailed as the rest, with Muskettiers before them in the same forme as the other; euery battalion containing about 1000. The King had 12. field Peeces, which to his commendations

The forme of the French Kings battell, containing 12000.  
Footes, and 4000. Horſe.



The Horse ſhould have bene bigger placed, and more inclining to  
the three uppermoſt field Peeces.

he planted Souldier like, Three foreright, three flank-  
 wife, six on either winge to annoy the Enemy, both in  
 front and flanke. His Horse was raunged without  
 these, not forthright, but obliquewise, to encompassse the  
 Enemy; being in number 4000. in each winge 2000.  
 two hundred in Front, and 10. in depth; that the one  
 halfe of the winge might give the charge, the other bee  
 their seconds. Behinde the King were his Trenches,  
 guarded with 3000. Foote to defend him from the sal-  
 lies of the Towne, therefore the King needed no se-  
 conds at all. But if you would see 12000. Foote, and  
 4000. Horse, embattailed both with seconds and aydes  
 for all attempts, peruse the second Figure going before,  
 (ioyned to that of the Kings.)

Where you shall see 15. battalions of Foot, martialled  
 in a manner after the *French* Kings forme, viz. In the  
 Vantgard or right wing, are three battalions of 500. a  
 peece, Flanckt with Muskettiers; before every one of  
 which are raunged ten files of Muskettiers; three in  
 the right angle, three in the left, and foure in the  
 midst iust before them; every file containing ten  
 men, which shot are to make their way through  
 the intervals of the battalions in the Reare of all, there  
 to giue vpon the Enemies Flanks. In the Battell are  
 three battalions, containing 3000. men, (a thousand a  
 peece) flankt with Muskettiers, and with Muskettiers be-  
 fore them in the same fashion as the rest. In the Re-  
 ward (or left winge) of the battell, are likewise three  
 battalions of 500. a peece, Embattailed as the rest, with  
 Muskettiers before them, in the same forme as the o-  
 ther: Behinde these battalions (for seconds) are foure  
 battalions of 500. a peece, standing against the Intervals  
 of their opposite battalions; which Intervals are 200.

foote

foote broad, that the foure battalions may the better passe through them. These foure battalions haue shot before them as the former, which with the rest may march forth to skirmish with the Enemy; or stand still to second them vpon their retreat, before the Battels ioyne: after being in the Reare to giue vpon your Enemies flanks as the other. The rest of the battalions are in Front but twelue foote distance one from another, and at three foote order.

The diuisions of Muskettiers are allowed six foote, that they may the better fall through, hauing given fire.

In the Reare of all are two battalions, of a thousand a peece, standing iust behinde the three battalions of the Battell, about a furlong of. On the Flanks of these are 800. Horse, 400. in each flanke, oblique wise, the better to start forth and inuiron the Enemy. In like manner are the Horse martialled in the outward flanks of the rest, but in greater numbers. peruse the Figure.

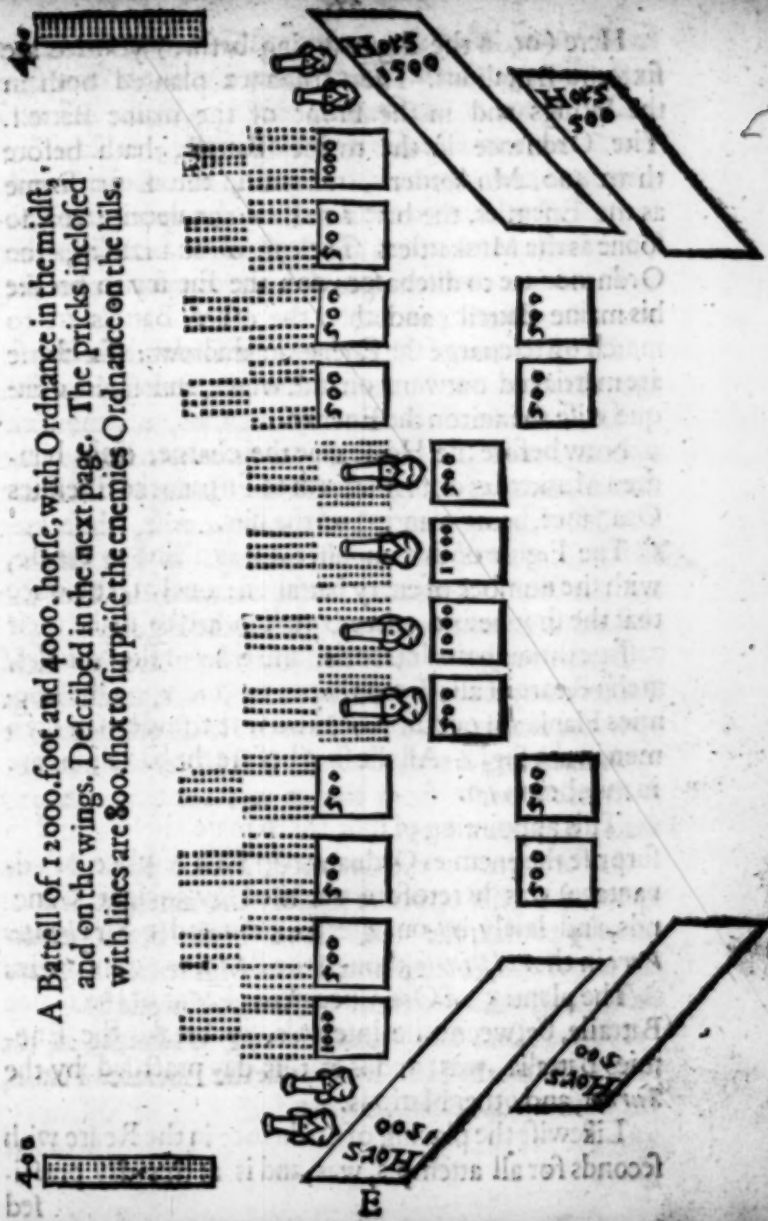
By the winges of these two battalions are two field Peeeces ready turned and bent to the Reare, to discharge vpon the Enemy, if he should with Horse or Foote giue vpon that part; if not, then these field Peeeces may bee with ease brought from thence to some other place to annoy him other wayes.

As for the rest of the Ordance, I haue plantred them vpon two Hills opposite against the Enemies flanks, thereby to distresse him. And for the better performance of this, I haue planted 700. Muskettiers to guard them; and will ayde them with more if neede be.

Now against this Battell hauing Ordnanee in the Reare, and on the Hills, to distresse the Enemies Flanks, I oppose this Battell following.

Here

A Battell of 12000. foot and 4000. horse, with Ordnance in the midst,  
and on the wings. Described in the next page. The pricks inclosed  
with lines are 800. shot to surprize the enemies Ordnance on the hills.



Here (or in the Figure going before) you see are fixteene Battalions. The Ordnance planted both in the Wings and in the Front of the maine Battell. The Ordnance in the maine Battell, hath before them 400. Muskettiers, ranged in the same forme as the Enemies, the better to hide the deceit: for so soone as the Muskettiers are cleare of the Battell, the Ordnance are to discharge vpon the Enemy to breake his maine Battell; and then the other Battels are to march on to charge the Enemy in disorder: the Horse are martialled outward on the wings, and stand oblique wise to inuiron the Enemy.

Now before the Horse giue the charge, eight hundred Musketties doe fallie forth to surpris the Enemies Ordnance, being planting on the hils.

The Figure doth demonstrate it as plaine as can be, with the number of euery battalion; onely take notice that the shot before euery battalion are to make their passage through the interualls, and sides of the battailes, in the Reare of all, from thence to giue vpon the Enemies Flankes, if occasion be, otherwise to aide their own men in the Fight. All the shot before the battalions are in number 1200.

This appointing of shot for to march before, and to surpris the enemies Ordnance (in such a place of aduantage) was heretofore practised by ancient Generals, and lately by our great Commander Sir *Horatio Vere* in the *Palatinate*, though the Battel were vnfought.

The planting of Ordnance in the Front of the maine Battaile, betweene the interualls, to breake the Enemies Battalia, was, and is at this day practised by the *Turkes*, and other Nations.

Likewise the placing of Ordnance in the Reare with seconds for all attempts, was, and is at this day practised.

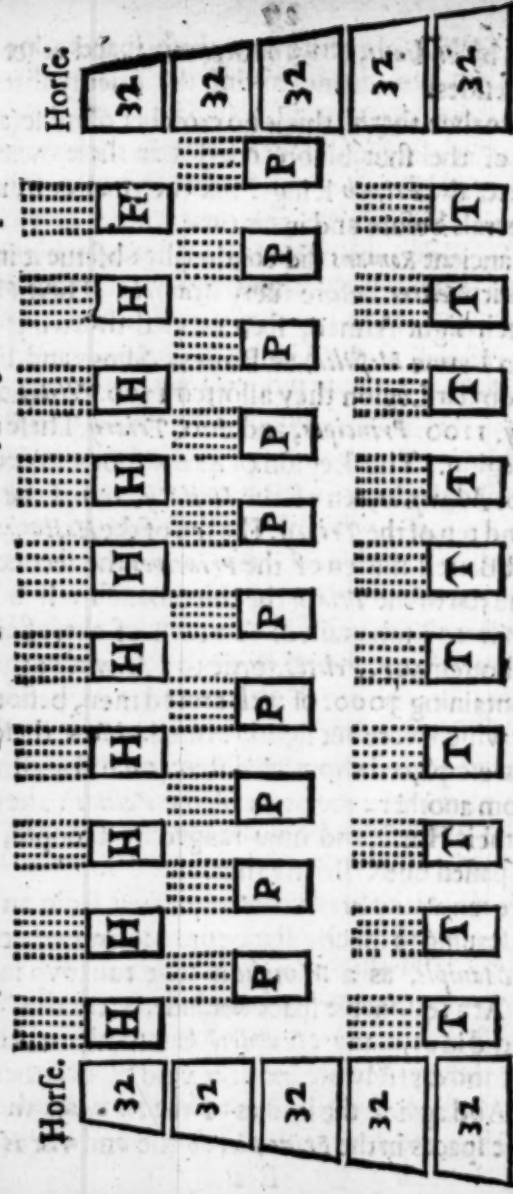
fed both by *Italians, French, Germanes*, and other Generals besides.

You see then that all this is no crotchet of mine (as the pacing of the shot before euery battalion was no crotchet of the *French Kings*) but the vsuall custome of all Generals before and in his time.

The ancient *Romans* did continually obserue it in placing their *Velites* before euery *Maniple*. Their *Velites* were their light Armed, such as vsed throwing weapons (in Latine *Maffilia*) as Bowes, Slings and Darts. To a popular Legion they allotted 1200. *Velites*. 1200. *Hastatij*, 1200. *Principes*, and 600. *Triarij*. These made vp a Legion. This Legion of 4200. foot was deuided into 30. *Maniples*; ten of the *Hastatij*, ten of the *Principes*, and ten of the *Triarij*. The ten of the *Hastatij* made the first Battell, the ten of the *Principes* the second Battell, the ten of the *Triarij* the third Battell: if but one Legion were Embattailed. To each of these Battails were allotted 400. *Velites*, fortie to a *Maniple*: the Battels containing 3000. of well armed men, besides the *Velites* which were but lightly armed. How these *Maniples* were placed: how far distant each Battell stood one from another: the order of the *Velites*: the number of their Horse, and how ranged by Troopes, must not be passed ouer. Brit fly thus.

Thee ten *Maniples* of the *Hastatij* they set in an euen Front, leauing so much distance or void ground betwixt euery *Maniple*, as a *Maniple* it selfe tooke vp in standing. At a reasonable space behinde, were the *Principes* placed in as many *Maniples*; but so, that their *Maniples* stood directly behinde the void places of the *Hastatij*. And against the bodies of the *Hastatij*, they left likewise spaces in the *Principes*, to the end the *Hastatij* being

The Embattaling of a *Romane* Legion; shewing you how the Velites were first placed, being in number 1200. They are marked with P's, being five in rank, eight in depth, 40. before every Maniple. The Maniples of the Hastatj are marked with H. those of the Principes with P. those of the Triarii with T. Five Troupes of horse in the right Wing, five in the left, and 32. in a Troupe.



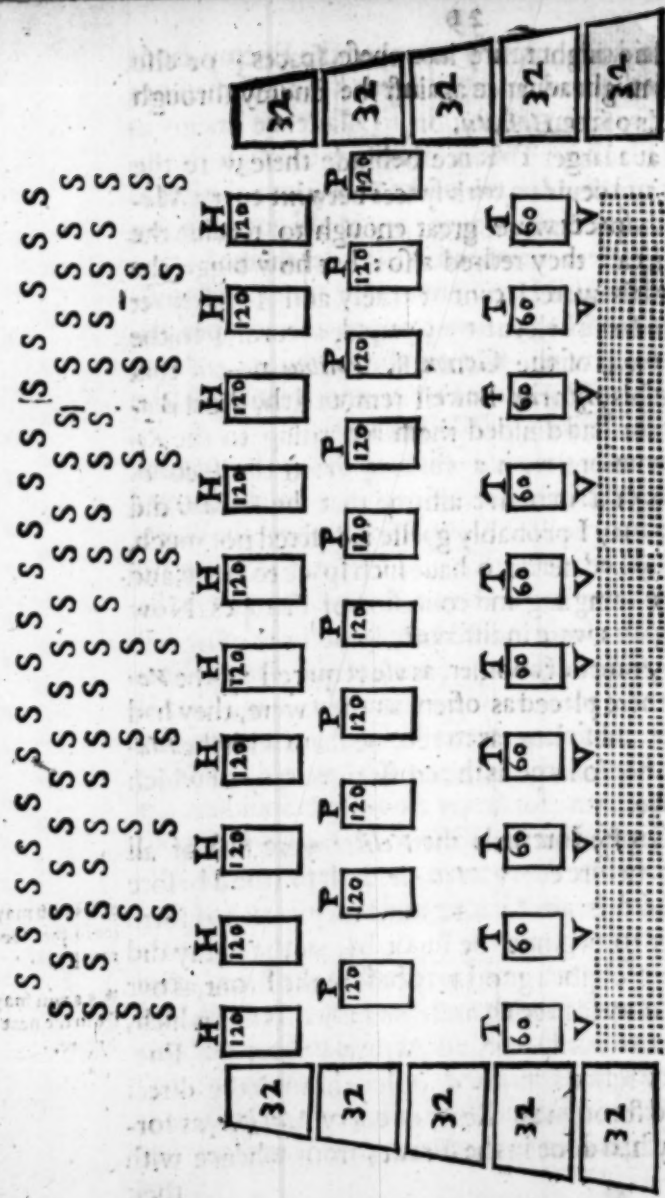
being overlaid might retire into these spaces; or else themselves might aduance against the Enemy through the Internals of the *Hastaty*.

Lastly, at a larger distance behinde these were the *Triarij* set, and deuided with spaces betwixt every *Maniple*, which spaces were great enough to receiue the *Principes* in case they retired also: but how bigge the crosse internals were I cannot truely and soundly set downe; rather I beleue they varied, according to the Forces and will of the Generall. *Polibius* noteth that *Haniball* in his *Affrican* Battell remoued the third Battell (for so he had diuided them according to the *Roman* fashion) more then a furlong from the second. And although I dare not affirme that the *Romans* did the like, yet may I probably guesse it differed not much, because they had neede to haue such space to retire, and to auoid the mingling and confusion of Troopes. Now the direct waies were indifferent, sometimes of one distance, sometimes of another, as vse required: if the *Velites* were there placed as often as they were, they had neede be broad, so large as to receiue them with the *Maniples*; yet not so large as the crosse internals, of which I haue spoke.

In the Crosse Internals the *Velites* were first of all placed, 40. before every *Maniple*, and so stood before the Battell did begin\*: after ward they marched forth all together to beginne the Fight before the Army did ioync: they fought a good way before the Front, as our Forlornes doe, scattering and disbandied. After which, hauing spent their Darts and Arrowes vpon the Enemies, they retired in good order through the direct wayes, and stood in the Reare of every *Maniple*, as formerly they had done in the Front; from whence with their

\* As you may see in the former page.

\* As you may see in the next Figure.



The manner of the Velites fight dismarching from their Maniples, marked with S. with their retreat in the Reare of all behinde the Triarii, marked with V. and prickes.

their missive weapons they annoyed the Enemy from thence ouer their owne mens heads : And sometimes were remoued from this station, to assaile the Enemy in Reare and Flankes. This remoue was through the direct wayes of the *Maniples* of the *Triarij* into the Reare of all ; for by the crosse wayes they could not passe, by reason the Horse were ranged in the sides thereof.

The Horse of this Legion were in number 320. diuided into ten troopes, 32 in a troope : five troopes placed on the right wing, five on the left wing, oblique wise, withall closing in the Front, and opening in the Reare, like this letter A put downewards.

The manner of the *Velites* fight with their Retreat into the Reare of all Behinde the *Triarij* is in the former page figured to the life. With the station of the Horse on the Flanks, to saue the Battell from inuitroning, and to charge the Enemy in the Flanke, if the Enemy gaue the charge with his Horse in the Front.

I with *Iustus Lipsius* doe admire the *Romane* Embattailing, and will affirme as much as hee, that if this ancient discipline were ioyned with these our new found Armes, the old and new world would be subiect to one man : for surely if our light Souldiers (so I call shot) were mixt betweene the *Maniples* and before the *Maniples* of the armed, with Interualls and distances for retreat, and that against the Horse and Armed Foot, what *Italia* durst assaile, nay, what *Battalia* could resist vs ? For in regard hereof our men should be alwayes fit to charge, fit to retire for a second charge. All which notwithstanding is to be done with long vse and exercise, least they trouble vs in the doing. If any object against the *Romans* discipline, because such *Maniples* are not able to cope with great *Battaliaes* : Let them

them know, that the *Romans* did make their *Maniples* Cohorts; and their Cohorts were sometimes 500. sometimes 600. nay, a thousand if we beleeue *Vegetius*: and is not this our number when wee Embattle? and will not you imitate them? well, if you will not, yet follow the discipline now in vse; a discipline approued for instruction, instructing you to doe thus.

1. When your Battalia of Footmen come to ioyne Battalia with your Enemies Footmen, haue a great company of Muskettiers before you to hurt and weaken your aduersary before you ioyne battell or fight; which shot when they haue wrought their effect must haue roome ready open for them to retreat into the Reare; from whence they may be fecht to serue against the Enemies Flankes. Your Enemies Battalia in such case, comming without shot before, hath his next remedy in all haste to ioyne to handy strookes. Your care must euer be to auoid confusion of fight.

Confusion of fight is to begin before your time, which causeth such inconuenience; as is cause oftentimes of losse: therefore in the beginning of your Fight take great heed that you invade not fight confusedly. Whereas eevery part of the Army hath his ordinary time to fight: neither suffer any part of your Army to fight with your Enemy in any other fashion then you appointed him. And for such casualties and accidents as may happen to you in Battell or Fight, keepe these conclusions following in memory and heart, and they will much auaille you in time of neede.

2. If your Horsmen be oppressed with your Enemies Horsmen, send for succour a supply of Muskettiers, who may scattering and out of order, as occasion shall serue, shoot at the oppressors, and vpon occasion

retire

retire and returne very often. **To these you may send a gard of Pikes for rescue;** the better to bring them off safe; but if you invade your Enemy with Musketers, with your gard of Pike send some Horse, that both may defend them from invasion of the Enemies Horsemen.

**4.** Likewise to give the Enemy his hands full, follow him with a battalion resolutely, to put all or one of his battalions to rout; and having discomfited any one of his Battels, send onely a small or convenient company to persue the chase, and with the rest invade quickly some part of his Army fighting with any one of your Battels. This must of necessity be done; for sundry victories have bene lost vpon this occasion: that when one Battell hath overthrowne his first encountered Enemys Battell, it hath immediately followed the chase, and not holpen his owne fellows in danger.

**5.** Likewise in your first ioyning of Battell, if your forward gaine the victory, ioyne your other Battels immediately whilst comfort is on your side, on your Enemies discomfort. This got *Bug* the victory at *Prague*.

**6.** If your Footmen be vtterly opprest with your Enemies footmen; send your horsemen to invade the sides of your Enemies, and with them some shot to hold them play: but if you can plant a peece of Ordnance against their flank, it will much abate their courage.

**7.** If your Enemies come vpon you vnprovided and vnlooked for, send your Horsemen or shot, to skirmish with them; whilst you intend to make you ready for Battell. Also your Horse may extend themselves into a deepe Heire battell, for to invade your Enemies with their more trouble and

8. Or to deceiue your Enemies, march towards them with a company of Horse, and make semblance of fight, as if the whole Army followed. The Enemy at this will stand; your battels in the meane time be set: you by this may outface the Enemy, and returne againe without fight.

9. Then bring in good order, if your occasion be such, that you would not haue your Enemies vnderstand of your orders and policies, cause you Horsemen to run vp and downe the dust, to let their fight. Doe the like if you haue planted and ordered your Army all in stratagems.

10. If your Enemies maine battell doe vige very valiantly your foreward, and his other battell be not ready to helpe, or rescue, cause both your other battels one on the one side, and the other on the other side, freshly to inuade your Enemies maine battell; and herein you shall doe wisely, imitating your predecessours, the braue English, at the battell of *Poytiers*.

11. If you haue a small and weake number, and you vnderstand that your Enemies goe for to distress a certaine aide comming to helpe you: where you be sent after the Enemy to inuade the backes of them when they be fighting with your aide; comming, set not you on rashly vpon your Enemies, before your time appointed; for if you fight with your enemies so, being stronger, before your aide haue set vpon their Front, you foolishly cast away your selues, and also leaue your aide in danger, and by your vntimely, rash, and vnwarlike onset bereaue your selues of your aide and helpe. And withall you much comfort your Enemies, who might haue bene discomforted; for if you had obserued your discipline and purpose, you should haue followed

lowed your Enemy closely, with as little noyse as might be, vntill your Enemies had set vpon your ayde; then in the heat of their fight, you should haue set vpon their backs, before your Enemies were knowing of your comming: which kinde of dealing had bene most hurtfull to your Enemies, commodious to your Ayde, and profitable to your selues; for warlike discipline is, that a weaker company neuer fight with a greater strength, without a speciall aduantage of time, occasion, and place for to helpe you. Also, neuer to breake your aduised determinate purpose, without you be either enforced, either drawne to fight by occasion of some notable accident offered by chance. Accident will happen; for in warres no most certaine rule can be appointed, which is not broken by some meanes at some seuerall times: therefore wait time, and so I proccede to other Councell.

12. If you abound in number, couet to compasse your Enemies, and to distresse them being weak.

13. If your Enemies abound in number, provide by order, or stratagem, or place, that your Enemies cannot compasse you.

14. Plant your Campe or Army to fight in a very strong ground by nature, and helpe it by Art.

15. Some haue vsed to choose their ground fortified by nature, as *Prosser Colonne*.

16. Some haue no regard of the strength of the place by nature, but choose rather to fortifie all wholly by Art and industry, as the ancient *Romians*.

17. Some seeke places somewhat by nature strong, and by Art and industry make them more stronger. They fortifie themselves as well in Fight as in Campe, which the good Captaines of our time doe usually.

18. Therefore if you be vnwilling to fight, and your Enemies must needs fight with you, by your industry make a ditch three foot deepe, and five or sixe foot broad, and cast the earth towards you, which ditch, if you thinke good, let it be especially in the Front, also in the sides, and on your backs also, as *Prosper Colonne* would often doe.

19. Which Ditch, if it haue sundry places open and free for your Enemies to enter, of no great space, it shall encourage them there to enter, where if you provide some stratagem against them, you doe well. The fittest stratagem for this occasion, is to place certaine Companies before the gaps, and certaine Ordnance behinde them to be discharged when they open in the midst.

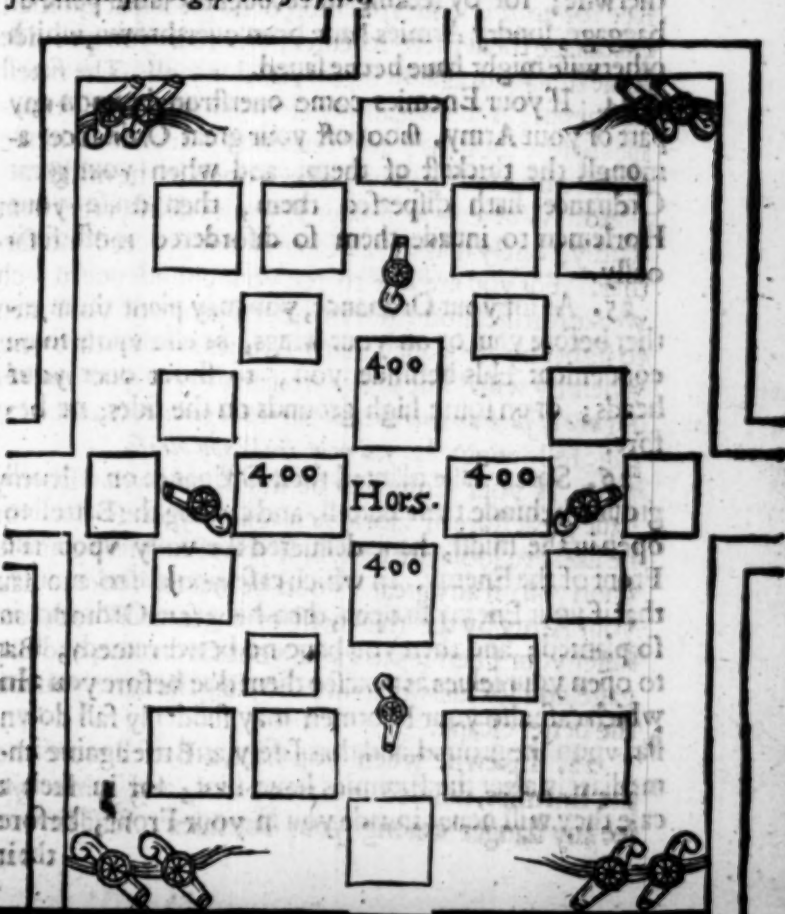
20. Whereupon, if your Enemies desist, vrge them hardly, onely make a faire shew, but proceede no further. For you are not to put your confidence in such weake fortification: nor in the arrogancy of your men to fight, by arrogancy many Armies are ouerthrowne, where by wisdom many are saued. I present you the *Figures of such an Intrenched Battell to peruse*, (in the next page following) but you may doe as you please.

21. If your Company be small, and your Enemy haue great store of Horsemen against you, so that you be likely to loose the Battell, if your Enemies againe set vpon you; if any great Wood be neere, seeke to saue your Army by the thicknesse of the same Wood, and suffer your Enemies to gaine your Ordnance, and Baggage, and Victuals, that they spoyling the same, you may the better escape.

22. Likewise when you haue a Battell more then the Enemies, diuide it into two parts, and where you see any danger among your Enemies, send first one part,

A Four-Fronted Battell for Stratagem, being enuironed with a Ditch.

**T**He Ditch is 6. foot broad, and 3. foot deepe. It hath foure gaps (for salyes) twentie paces broad, to allure the Enemy there to enter. It hath at euery gap five battalions of 300. a peece: it hath a field Peece behind euery middle battell; euery middle battell must open in the midst, before the Peece doe discharge; then the Horse must issue forth upon the Enemy: for this cause the Horse haue their place in the midst, remote from the Foot, diuided into foure squadrons, (in the forme of a crosse) ready faced to the gaps; being in all 1600. the foot 6000. If you will haue no Horse in the midst, then diuide them into 8 squadrons; place them for wings, in an even front, or on the angles: so the Battell will be hollow, and the foot battell for the gaps but 3. a peece.



part, and then another: or else, if occasion serue, ayde your Battels, as reason shall moue you to helpe.

23. And in the heat of your Fight, if newes come that your Baggage is in danger, in no case the Capitaines must not suffer the Souldiers, or Horsemen confusedly for to runne for to recouer the same, in case of losse; but by aduice to send a company of convenient men for to doe it, onely by their Commandements, and no otherwise; for by seeking to recouer the same pelfe or baggage, sundry Armies haue been ouerthrown, which otherwise might haue beene saued.

24. If your Enemies come ouerstrongly vpon any part of your Army, shoot off your great Ordnance amongst the thickest of them, and when your great Ordnance hath dispersed them, then cause your Horsemen to inuade them so disordered most furiously.

25. As for your Ordnance, you may plant them either before you, or on your wings, or else vpon some convenient Hills behinde you, to shoot ouer your heads; or on some high grounds on the sides, or be-  
fore.

26. Some haue planted their Ordnance on a leuell ground behinde their Battell, and causing the Battell to open in the midst, haue deliuered the volly vpon the Front of the Enemy. In which case you are to marke, that if your Enemy so open, then his great Ordnance is so planted; and then you haue no better remedy, but to open your selues as you see them doe before you: In which case also your Footmen may suddenly fall down flat vpon the ground, and that safely, and rise againe immediately after the Enemies haue shot; for in such a case they will neuer inuade you in your Front, before their

their shot have been discharged : and bring down, your Ordnance behinde you may flanke-wise immediately play on them, if you were so protided.

27. In marching against an Enemy, if you feare his great Ordnance shooting directly against you, fetch a long compasse to passe by them, and so to auoid them, if no greater impediment let you.

28. Likewise feating your Enemies great Ordnance, let your iourney be behinde the couert of some high standing, creeping close, and your Pikes trailing, so couet to invade the sides, or backes of your Enemies.

29. Some haue, being in danger of the great Ordnance, caused their seruants in Armour for to stand behinde great trees, standing directly in the face or sight of the Gunners, therby to cause them to shoot off the more vehemently, as though the whole Battell came that way, and ment for to come vpon the Ordnance : In the meane space, vnder that colour, their Souldiers haue come conueniently some other way ; or else behinde their seruants, creeping loe, towards their Enemies, which to imitate, you must beforehand learne perfectly the nature of the ground, which you are to passe, that you may take all aduantages which the nature of the soile can render vnto you.

30. If your Enemy March with all his Ordnance in the Vantgard, and his other Battels lagge halfe a dayes iourney behinde, follow him with all your power with as great celeritie and secrecie as you can, and so fight with him, being deprived of his chiefe strength.

31. If your Enemy March away in good order with his Ordnance before, and in the Reare of his Army so trauellling (not determined to fight) and you seeke by following your Enemy to fight with him, you must haue

haue a great regard vnto the place where your Enemy and you both iourney, and there a company of Dragons with Curassiers, or Pistoliars, with two or three field Peeces, are to be sent before to stay your Enemies; and to disturbe them; that when you see them thereby stayed, you may haue the more leasure to order your Battels, and to make choise of your ground to fight. Then if you fight (if it be possible) by all meanes bring your great Ordnance round about your Enemies Armie; plant them vpon some high ground, that you may without impediment shoot free vpon your Enemies backs, or sides: and withall guard your Ordnance with a conuenient number of shot, that they may not be surpris'd by the Enemy, and turned vpon your selues.

32. If it chance that your Battell be ouerpressed by your Enemies, and begin to scatter, or for to disorder; then all your Captaines must with all diligence bestir themselves, first in exhortation; and comforting their Souldiers; then by bringing them againe into order, and turne them againe, which haue turned from their Enemies: If faire words will not serue, then let them vse foule, and from words fall vnto blowes, it may be that will force them to returne. If they persist and will flye, then let some few valiant Captaines as know such streights through which they must passe, runne before to possesse the streights; there after blowes and slaughter, force them to fall into order againe.

33. Bridges, deepe Rivers, streight wayes inuironed are to be set.

34. By which waies oftentimes recoveries haue bin gotten, although very deerely.

35. It is very necessary for a Generall to haue before hand

hand perfect knowledge of these wayes; that hee may somewhat the better behaue himselfe after the losse of his Battell.

His behauiour after his Battell lost, consisteth best in his good prouision of all kindes of duties made before his Fight or Battell.

How a Generall should behaue himselfe after the losse of his Battell.

For if he haue prouided beforehand by wisdom some place of safe refuge, neere hand vnto the place of the Battell, hee hath very well taken order for all mishaps.

If he by wisdom before haue taken order that the enemy can in no safetie, but with his danger persue him, he hath well holpen his danger.

If knowing no other helpe to be likely, he began the Battell ouer night; in which case hauing lost the Battell, his Enemies could not persue him very farre: hee hath done very well.

If he haue beforehand, when hee saw himselfe likely to loose the Battell, in some convenient place laid some Ambush, which in order will set vpon his Enemies, persuing out of order; he hath performed the part of a good Generall.

A good Generall will forecast what may happen, and therefore will consider alwayes of every ground, as he passeth by it, what occasion it can worke, and how he can take aduantage, or helpe himselfe thereby; either by the impediments of his Enemy there, or else by some Ambush, or some other stratagem to be brought vpon the occasion of the same ground, good or bad. And if his Enemy very wisely, and with good reasons and discretion seeke Battell or Fight, he with like wisdom and discretion will avoid Battell or fight, and seek to get away by flying: which is the next point to be handled.

## CHAP. III.

*In what case it is best for a Commander or General to flye, and how.*



A great Iudgement was required of you in the ordering of your Battels, and behaviour of your selfe in Fight, and after the Battell lost; so there is as much required of you in taking time to Flye: for if you flye not like a good Souldier, but like one voide of iudgement without Discipline, you will bring distruction to your Army, shame to your Friends, and dishonour to your selfe: but if you flye with iudgement as a Souldier, you bring safetie to your Army, glory to your Friends, and hope of victory to your selfe. That you may be enabled to flye thus with honour, obserue these precepts following.

*Precepts for  
Flying.*

1. When your Enemies being mightie, or else very strong, vrgeth you being weake in strength, helpelesse; then know, that vpon such an occasion (so necessitated) that a wise, orderly, and politicke flight is better then an indiscreet stay without reason.
2. If you be by necessitie compelled to flye, flye in order, and in Battell array, fully provided of rescues and helpes, that your Enemies eagerly vrge you not.
3. Flye with sufficient space of time and place, that your Enemies cannot easily overtake you before you come into safetie (I meane places of aduantages for you.)

4. Flye

4. Flye in many parts and sundry wayes, which conceale, that your Enemies may haue no intelligence of your meaning, and diuertie of flying.

5. If you flye or auoid the fight, doe it either compelled by necessitie, or subtiltie, or cautiously to bring your Enemy into your danger, or else to seeke places or occasions for your best, or better advantage.

6. If you flye, your Enemy hardly vying you in the Reare and Flanks; your Horsemen or else your Muskettiers, or both, should eagerly skirmish with them which persue so earnestly; so that your Army may in the interim win a good space of ground.

7. Before your Horse and Muskettiers should issue out (as aboue said) you should haue a Peece of Ordnance remaining in the Reare of your Army for to shoot off vpon the vigers, as opportunity should serue.

8. In like fashion two or three peeces of Ordnance in the Reare of enery battalia, travelling, iourning, or flying.

9. Commonly your Muskettiers (in such cases last rehearsed) are vsed to be placed both in the Reare and Flanks, for the said speciall purpose; namely, to skirmish with such as doe disturbe your March; and yet to keepe on their iourney with the rest.

10. Some such as flye vse to leaue some great Stales or Ambushes, in places very conuenient (as Woods, Mountaines, Forrests, Rocks, banks of Riuers, Caves, Hills, hollow and deepe wayes, Corne-fields, and the like) for such a purpose, to intrap the vigers, if occasion can serue.

11. Sometimes (as Count Mansfield) they fire  
houses

houses to stay their Enemies following: and on that side the smoake fals (by reason of the winde) they lay an Ambush to intrap the Enemy. The like doe you, that the rest of your Army may passe with safetic.

12. When you flye onely the Battell, and seeke order and time conuenient for the same, send all your baggage and carriage before, and after them all your Footmen, and with a strong company of Horse fortifie your Reare, and leaue many fires in the Campe; And for time, choose a cloudy darke morning.

13. In your flying, or before, learne exquisitely of them as be skilfull of the wayes and places, where, how farre off, or how lye such places, as you hope may somewhat defend you from any danger of your Enemies, and make the greatest haste towards them.

14. If you can learne of any narrow passage between two great Hills, or betweene some great Riuer or Wood, & some dangerous Hill, or some other dangerous place wherein you may safely rest from your Enemies, make haste thither.

15. In which case learne very diligently whether there be not some secret place in the same place of your quietnesse, whereunto your Enemies getting, may disturbe your quietnesse; and if there be cause, such kindes of dangerous places, to be either well warded, or else stopped by a tranche-ditch, or by another good way.

16. Also learne very diligently, whether your Enemy seeke not by their Horsemen to fetch a great compasse

compasse about any side of your said place of your securitie, either to inclose you there, or else for to goe before you to some place of their advantage against you.

17. In which case, if your Enemies with their whole Army seeke to compasse the place, and for to be before you, take good aduice, if you may not turne that their practise vnto your commoditie, by some new inuention.

As first, for to returne backe againe vnto some place of refuge; for you are else (as the *Gracians*) to seeke another way not suspected of your Encmies.

*Zenophon of the Gracians retreat from Babylon, lib. 3.*

Or else to returne a little backe to giue a colour to your Enemy of flying away, so to draw him into the same streight to follow you the easier in his opinion, and to returne to incounter him the more easely.

18. A chiefe, or else a notable place of refuge for Flyers, is to flye to be vnder the wings, or safetie of some Citie, or else strong Fort, well furnished with great Ordnance vpon the wals; it is able to shoot ouer your flying Army into the Army of your prosecuting Enemy, and so hurt him, to his great danger, and your great securitie, and comfort many wayes.

19. If you flye, or iourney in three Battels, or more, euery Battell must alwayes be in sight of the next before or behinde, in such order, that the one be alwayes able to succour the other (in case it be inuaded by Enemies) so Flying, or Iourning. Otherwise, for lacke of such order and aide, one may be discomfited for want of others helpe. To conclude.

20. If Flying, your Enemy with a great company of Horse and shor, inuade your hindermost Battell,

tell, discharge two Peeces of Ordnance vpon them or more, which will coole their courage, and will likewise by their roaring and thundering noise, warne your other Battels to make Alt or stand, whereby you may worke your will. Example.

*The Landgraue with his Germaine great Army, when Charles the fift Emperour sent a great company of shot for to invade their hindmost Battell, and to slay them, hee caused two Culuerins to be discharged vpon them; and all the Army said. Thus much for Flying.*

## CHAP. V.

*How a Commander or Generall must auoid Battell, and when accept of Fight.*

**T**He wisdom of a Generall doth best appeare in the auoiding of Fight, and in the taking of opportunitie to fight; both of which are so necessarie in the Warres, that the one cannot be without the other: but which of these for a time are first to be vsed, and for a time laid aside, resteth in the wisdomes of a wise Generall to determine.

Wisdom willeth you to begin with wars, when you see your selfe very strongly prepared, and your Enemies contrariwise altogether weake and vnprovided.

And wisdom willeth you, as you begin well, so

to continue your warres wisely for your most commoditie,

In warres, if you either for lacke of knowledge, or by negligence, or else by pride let slip most apt occasions, you seldome after can get them againe.

To let slip a good opportunitie, bringeth both repentance, shame and losse also.

Many haue felt this to their sorrow. Therefore let their losses admonish you to let nothing slip, that may either dispatch your warre quicke, or prolong it to your Enemies losse, and your owne advantage.

That you may be enabled to doe this, take these Rules for your direction.

1. If your Enemies be few in number, and raw Souldiers, ill furnished, ill willing for to fight, and not fortified by place: if you abound in number which are better Souldiers, you are to seeke the Battell. *Vegetius, lib. 3.* When to Fight,

2. When your Enemies aboundeth in all things, and therefore avoideth to fight, and where you want of prouision, and your Souldiers lustie, and desirous of Battell, there you may seeke Battell. *Antony at Philippi against Cassius and Brutus.*

3. Where you be determined to seeke the Battell, make good choise of your ground where you be to fight, and see your selfe in perfect order and direction, and yet seeke all advantages you can by any meanes finde out. *Prosper Colonne against the Frenchmen at Bicocca, and Bassan.*

4. Though you abound in number, seeke not to fight

fight rashly, neither be very desirous of Battell, without very good apparance of likelihoood of victory: neither fight before you haue intelligence of your Enemies strength, pöllicies, and orders, except extreame necessitie compell you.

5. Auoide not to fight with one great Army, when you know, that if you stay, you shall shortly be compelled to fight with two great Armies.

*This was well foreseene by Claudius Nero, and as well executed to his glory. Claudius Nero the Roman Consull, intercepting Asdrubals Letters (directed to his brother Hanibal, to meet him at Vmbra, to ioyne both their powers together, for the subuersion of the Romans) presently vpon the reading, lest his fellow Consull in the night (vknowne to Hanibal) and with six thousand foot, and one thousand horse, came to Liuius another Roman Consull, who was to intercept Asdruball coming from the Mountaines into Italie, and there ioyning force with his, gaue Battell to Asdruball, ouercame him, and slew him before euer Hanibal knew of his being in Italie. Hanibal vpon this was much grieved, both for the death of his Brother, and the deprivation of his power, and removed into the fields the Brutians. And for that hee had no power left him of men, to defend his Posses-  
ses that hee held, being so farre off, hee gathered together all the Metapontanes, and the Lucanes, such as were his friends; and brought them all into the Countrey of the Brutians, where hee remained for a season, Counselling what were best for him to doe. Thus was Hanibal brought to distresse by the wise-*

dome of one man, taking his time and opportunitie to fight.

Having shewne you when to Fight; now let me shew you when to auoide it. Auoide Fight vpon these occasions:

Where you by deferring the Battell are to finde all things in better case; and contrary, your Enemies are to lacke, and loose by the same victuals, wages, good will or friendship, you are to auoid Battell. *Vegetius, lib. 3.* When to auoide fight,

Where you abound in number and victuals, and other prouision, and your Enemy wanteth of your abundance, and therefore seeketh to fight, auoid you the Battell. *Cassius and Brutus at Philippi, against Antony and Caesar.*

Where the Enemy must needs dissolue his Army shortly, if he fight not with you; there you are to auoide the Battell. *Pompey at Durazzo against Caesar.*

Where you are in danger to loose a Realme, or two, if you loose the Battell, your Enemies are in danger onely to loose their present Army: Being no stronger then your Enemies, seek not to fight. *Hispani. Bell. Verona.*

Where your Souldiers and Captaines be maruellously vnwilling to fight, seek not to fight. *Vegetius lib. 3. cap. 9.*

If your Enemies be poore and needy, beware of their necessitie; for alwaies necessitie makes men desperate, and causeth them to thinke there is no remedy but victory in fight. *Aluiano.*

If you be in any strong place, so planted that

H

your.

your Enemy cannot fight with you, but with his great losse, seeke not to fight with him. *Prosper Conlonno at Bicocca.*

If your Enemy be so placed in a strong Campe, seeke not there to fight with your Enemy. *Carolus Caesar in Germany.*

*Frenchmen* are by long dalliance and time to be deluded, because they be hot, and desirous to fight when they be fresh, and eager to be put on in the beginning of the warres; afterwards, when by long time they are wearied, they are tractable enough: so will others be besides *Frenchmen*.

If you haue warres made against you by a number of confederate Princes or Magistrates (take *Casars* counsell) deferre the Battell for a time, and weary them out by polliticke vsage. Keepe them from victuals; kill all such as goe for Forrage, or any other purpose; make many Alarms nightly vpon them in their Campe, and toyle them with watches and sodaine labours: By this meanes you shall make the warres seeme loathsome vnto them, and protract it the longer; whereby, they may fall into dissention one with another, for such a number of Confederates cannot long agree, but that some quarrels will fall out betweene them, or else some grudges; so that some may be deuied from the other by some kinde of perswasion or other, whereupon you may, if you thinke good, giue Battell to the relinquished: or chase them (as the *Imperials* did the *French* out of *Millan*) with light skirmishes.

For the better performance of these skirmishes, let all your Souldiers haue the perfect vse of their Armes. They may haue the perfect vse of their Armes quickly, if the Seriants doe but at vacant times plye and exercise them.

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*F f N f s.*

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*At the signe of the Angell in Lumberstreet you may haue an excellent Ploforme for the postures of Pike and Musket.*